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ABSTRACT

This paper, based on a mental health consultation project in an inner city elementary school, examines the process of consultation in a biracial organization and advances four propositions about the interactions: (1) that there are black-white differences in orientation to the consultant-consultee relationship; (2) that these differences are along the dimension of interpersonal vs. instrumental competence; (3) that these differences have significant implications for the effectiveness of the consultation process itself; and (4) that ethnic differences in orientation to consultation can be generalized to other interpersonal transactions between blacks and whites. Some of the specific problems associated with consultation in biracial situations are discussed, such as mutual stereotyping, mutual mistrust, and problems of interpreting communication and social behavior. "Critical incidents" are presented to illustrate these problems. Finally, a model of interpersonal orientation-interpersonal competence in mental health consultation is proposed. This model is an effort to conceptualize both the stages and the themes involved in the consultation process. (Author)

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THE INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATION IN MENTAL HEALTH CONSULTATION: TOWARD A MODEL OF ETHNIC VARIATIONS IN CONSULTATION

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I. Introduction

This paper is based on the author's experiences as a clinical-community psychology intern for one academic year in a school mental health consultation project in the San Francisco Bay Area. The project was an attempt to develop a collaborative school prevention and intervention program through weekly group meetings with the faculty, administration and special services personnel at the school.

As the female member of a two-person team of black intern-consultants from the Psychology Clinic at Berkeley, I worked in a predominantly black inner-city elementary school with a racially-integrated faculty for one day a week for one school year.

The consultation literature, while generally preparing us for the technical aspects of consultation, did not adequately deal with the process aspects of consultation in this particular type of institution, i.e., where racial and cultural factors were influencing the intra-institutional relationships as well as the extra-institutional relationships with the consultants.

In evaluating and analyzing the process of consultation in this school, I suggest the following four propositions: 1) that there are ethnic differences in orientation to the consultant-consultee relationship; 2) that these differences are along the dimension of interpersonal vs. instrumental competence; 3) that these differences have significant implications for the effectiveness of the consultation process and outcome; and 4) that ethnic differences in orientation to consultation can be generalized to other interpersonal transactions between blacks and whites, e.g., the therapeutic relationship.

II. Review of Literature

Existing models of consultation, such as those developed by Caplan (1970),

Altrocchi (1972) and Glidewell (1959), do not deal with the issue of ethnic variations among consultees in their attitudes toward consultation, their use of consultation and their relationship with the consultant. However, when a traditionally trained consultant is involved in a non-white or predominantly non-white setting, the limitations of these models become immediately apparent. Both Caplan (1970) and Altrocchi (1972) share certain basic assumptions about the importance of building a solid base and establishing good communication in the initial phase of consultation. These assumptions are derived from a mono-cultural perspective about human communication, human values and human behavior, e.g., that consultant and consultee can easily develop effective channels of communication, that they can develop a common verbal and non-verbal language, that mutual trust will be shared, and that distortions of perception and expectations can be easily clarified.

Glidewell (1959) emphasizes the importance of congruence, or goodness of fit, between the consultant and consultee in terms of values, role expectations, resource and reward allocation, and feelings about the control of dependency. These are some of the central issues which arise in the entry phase of consultation in an inner-city school, where the consultant and the consultees may share very different perceptions about all of these areas.

The history of black-white relationships and the subordinate position of blacks in American society has important implications for interactions between blacks and whites (or those representing white institutions) in the consultation relationship, as well as in interpersonal transactions. Sociological investigations of black family and peer relationships have described culturally-patterned behaviors which are characterized by openness, frankness, expressiveness, playfulness, and intense verbal interaction, (Frazier, 1960; Drake, 1967; Clark, 1965). Conversely, in their interpersonal transactions with whites, blacks tend to be more guarded, more inhibited, more formal, and more non-verbal. (Kochman, 1970; Coles, 1965; Hannerz, 1965)

Moreover, there are social class differences among blacks in the degree of their conformity to these culturally-patterned behaviors, as well as in the degree to which they are familiar with and assimilated to the behaviors and expectations which are normative in middle-class white social interactions. (Frazier, 1957; Thompson, 1974; Billingsley, 1968) Knowledge of these general cultural differences, as well as the social class variations, are essential to the effective functioning of the consultant in the pre-entry phase of the consultation project.

According to Hall and Whyte (1960) there are a number of tangible and intangible factors which influence intercultural communication: the use of language (including meanings, voice tones, and emotions), the attitudes toward physical contact (patterns of personal space, touching, expressing affection), the orientation to time, the significance of place, and the social class hierarchy. These factors are all operating within the context of the consultation in the inner-city school, particularly where the consultant is viewed as a representative of a powerful institution in the white establishment (such as the University of California), and the consultees view themselves as predominantly from a powerless group working in a non-prestigious institution, such as an inner-city elementary school.

Although both Sarason (1966) and Berlin (1966) acknowledge the importance of interpersonal skills in facilitating the relationship building between the consultant and consultee, they do not distinguish between interpersonal skills and instrumental skills as two different sets of skills which might serve different functions at different stages of the consultation process. I am proposing that, in settings where the consultee agency or staff is predominantly black, it is helpful to conceptualize these two sets of competencies as distinct but overlapping skills, related to two different phases of consultation, e.g., the entry phase and the task-oriented phase (which may overlap and may often be difficult to demarcate in precise terms.)

Weinstein (1969), in his review paper on The Development of Interpersonal Competence, defined it as "...the ability to accomplish interpersonal tasks...inter-

personal competence boils down to the ability to manipulate others' responses." (p. 755) While he notes that very little research has been done on the development of this ability and the context in which it is socialized, he identifies three aspects of the ability: 1) socialization for empathic behavior, 2) acquiring a repertoire of tactics, and 3) variations in personal orientations. I would add a fourth aspect, which was not considered at all by Weinstein, i.e., variations in value orientations among different ethnic groups with respect to this ability.

Just as there is very little research in general on this ability, there is almost no research which is directly relevant to blacks, except for the studies which are relevant to various aspects of the three areas outlined by Weinstein. To summarize these studies in terms of the above dimensions: 1) black lower-class groups appear to be more sensitive to some types of non-verbal and communicational cues, while black students appear to be more skillful at enacting and judging emotions (Gitter, et al., 1972) 2) lower-class blacks and inner-city ghetto youth have developed distinctive culturally-patterned styles of language (Kochman, 1970; Valentine and Valentine, 1970), social interactions, and strategies for the maintenance of status and self-esteem (Rainwater, 1965; Schulz, 1969; Hannerz, 1965): these strategies and defensive styles may be appropriate in segregated situations, but may be counter-productive and threatening in interracial situations (Allport, 1954; Clark, 1965; Pettigrew, 1964) and 3) there are variations in these expressive styles and strategies among lower-class and middle-class blacks. Finally, Baumrind (1976), in her paper on subcultural variations in social competence, proposes that expressiveness, metacommunicational skills and role-taking and role-playing skills are areas in which blacks demonstrate more competence than whites. Most of the studies deal with lower-class blacks and inner-city ghetto communities, so the results have limited applicability to these groups. However, to the extent that the majority of American blacks have had some contact with a homogeneous black, lower-income community, they will share some of these behavioral traits and interaction patterns, or they will at

least be able to relate to and to communicate with other blacks who do exhibit these culturally-distinctive expressive styles and strategies.

While Weinstein has provided a theoretical framework in which to view the study of interpersonal competence, a team of researchers at the University of Oregon has been investigating the techniques of the assessment and development of interpersonal competence. (Sundberg, et al., 1975) They propose that the development of interpersonal skills is influenced by family and cultural factors, and that culturally-specific behaviors which are effective in a specific setting may be inappropriate in other settings. However, they also point out that there are no clearly established criteria for defining or evaluating interpersonal competence, nor is there a framework for matching specific skills with specific settings where they are most appropriate and most effective.

"Interpersonal orientation" is defined in this study as the value of a group or individual which focuses on the process rather than the content of the interactions, both verbal and non-verbal, between two people. "Interpersonal competence" is a measure of the ability of the individual to evoke positive attitudes and to obtain favorable responses to his actions. "Instrumental Orientation" is defined as the value of a group or individual which focuses on the goal or task-related aspects in the relationship between two people; thus, "instrumental competence" is a measure of the degree of effectiveness with which that goal or task is accomplished by the individual. The remainder of this discussion will analyze the consultation project in terms of these two dimensions: interpersonal vs. instrumental orientations and their evaluative aspects, interpersonal and instrumental competence.

III. Critical Incidents: Illustrations of Interpersonal Transactions

In this section, seven examples of interpersonal transactions between the black female consultant (the author) and various teacher and staff members of the school are discussed. These "critical incidents" have been selected to illustrate several important aspects of the consultation process in the school, including the

differential orientation of the black and white consultees to the consultation and to the consultant. The incidents are primarily drawn from the entry phase of the project, where these different orientations were particularly salient and crucial, but some have also been drawn from the ongoing process of the project.

Case 1

At the first meeting of our consultation team with the school faculty, the Principal, a middle-aged black woman, gave us a cursory introduction and did not provide the group with an adequate explanation of our reason for attending the meeting. During the presentation by the white leader of the group, the white faculty members seemed more attentive than the blacks, who seemed restless or detached. During the question period, there was a clear difference in the responses of the white and black teachers to the presentation: the white teachers tended to ask questions relating to the theory, the methods and goals of the project, while the black teachers tended to ask questions or make comments about the motivations of the team and the impact of the project on the welfare of the school pupils.

The major concern expressed by black teachers dealt with the potential harmful effects of the project on the black children, whom they wanted to protect from exploitation and manipulation, while the major concern of the white teachers dealt with the issue of clarifying the details of the project and the criteria for participation.

Case 2

A week after this first meeting with the faculty, I requested an appointment with the Principal, Mrs. B., in order to obtain faculty reactions to our proposed consultation project. She greeted me warmly and frankly told me that the black faculty members had reacted very negatively to the presentation, primarily because they suspected that we, as a Berkeley research group, had ulterior motivations to use the black children as guinea pigs. After prolonged discussion to negotiate a mutually satisfactory arrangement with the faculty, through Mrs. B., she agreed to support the project if we would drop the research component. After this agreement

was reached, she abruptly changed the subject, asked me some personal questions, and then offered me some personal data about her teaching career and her relationships with several teachers in the school. The meeting ended on a cordial note, with Mrs. B. promising to support the project because she "liked" me and my male colleague and thought it would be "fun" to work with us. (We learned several weeks later that this was a unilateral decision and was never referred to the full faculty for discussion or action again.)

Case 3

Mrs. R., a black resource teacher who had been initially critical of the project, was reserved and aloof with me during the first two weeks of our work in the school. On the third week, she joined me for lunch in the faculty lunch room and we had a conversation with a sixth grade teacher about dealing with the social and emotional problems of pre-adolescent girls. She seemed interested in my previous experiences with this age group, and was subsequently friendlier to me. When I asked her input on a program I was developing for the sixth grade girls, she was very constructive and enthusiastic. At the end of the discussion, she asked me if I were a member of a national black womens' service organization; when I replied affirmatively, she exclaimed, "Well, I'll bet we have a lot in common. We must have lunch together more often and get to know each other." Subsequently, she also asked me a number of personal questions and shared similar information with me. Although she never requested any direct services from me, she attended the first group meeting and was an active participant throughout the duration of the group. After the first meeting of the group, she called me aside and asked how I thought the meeting had turned out. I gave a non-commital response, but asked her opinion and she said, "I think it went very well and I was so pleased for you and Bob (my colleague). I really want this group to go well because I really like you and Bob and I want you to be successful with your project." She did not discuss any of the substantive issues raised in the group's meeting.

Case 4

Mr. D., the youthful black resource teacher, was polite and reserved whenever I saw him at the school. In conjunction with my assessment of a sixth grade girl who had been referred to me for acting-out behavior, I asked Mr. D. if I could observe her in his class and on the playground, and later asked him for his evaluation of her behavior in these settings. He seemed very pleased to be consulted and was very cooperative. The next week he spontaneously commented to me that he had really enjoyed our "little talk" and he had decided to join the group. He then said that he had initially felt reservations about our project and about our motivations, but he had been observing me and Bob and felt that we really had "our heads in the right place" and that we were "OK folks."

The previous four illustrations all occurred between black consultees and the black consultant; the following three incidents represent interactions with white teachers and are intended to serve as a contrast to the interactions with black teachers and staff.

Case 5

Miss J., another resource teacher, had shown great interest in the project from our first meeting with the faculty. On my first visit to the school, she set up appointments for me to observe teachers who were participating in the school's voluntary precision teaching program. After the first meeting of the group, she commented that she was really looking forward to the next meeting, because she was interested in psychology and felt that she could learn something with a new perspective on children. She resigned her position shortly after our group meetings began due to pregnancy, but she said she would be sorry to miss future meetings of the group because the two sessions had whetted her appetite to learn more about preventive techniques in dealing with emotionally troubled children.

Case 6

Mrs. P., one of the resource specialists in the school,

was one of the oldest and most experienced teachers there. She had been one of the most responsive teachers in our initial visits to the school, orienting us to the history, faculty divisions, and leadership issues in the school. She felt that this information would be helpful to us as we formed the new group and pledged her support of the project. When she missed one meeting of the group, she apologized to us and said she "hated to miss these group meetings because I'm enjoying them so much and I'm learning how to look at old problems in a new way." She also commented that she wished that our group could talk about the interpersonal tensions among the faculty because "an outsider would probably help them with their morale problems and get the school moving in the right direction again."

Case 7

Miss R., the white sixth-grade teacher, had expressed only a lukewarm interest in the group, but was always quite friendly and open to me when we met in the lunchroom. She was one of two sixth grade teachers who helped to develop a program with a group discussion format for the sixth grade girls. Although Miss R. did not attend the group meeting regularly, she was an effective co-leader with the girls' group which met weekly during lunch hour. In her later comments on this experience, she said that she had really learned a lot about how to elicit responses from the girls and how to encourage them to talk about issues which really concerned them. At the end of the group, she said that the experience had been very valuable to her because she had some new ideas about programming for sixth graders and thought that she now understood some of the girls much better and was more aware of some of their family and community problems, which would make her more effective in dealing with them in the classroom.

IV. Discussion and Analysis of Consultant-Consultee Interactions

The above "critical incidents" were selected to illustrate major differences in the orientation of the black and white teachers and staff members to the consultation

process. However, I do want to emphasize that black teachers and staff also commented on the content and goals of the consultation, on their professional reactions to the project, and on their professional and personal gains from the project. Specifically, it is a matter of timing and degree, i.e., black teachers tended to respond to us in a very personal, non-task oriented way in the initial stages of the consultation, and became task-oriented much later in the project; while white teachers tended to be very task-oriented initially, and developed personal relationships with us much later in the project, if at all.

From these experiences, I have developed a tentative model which identifies stages and themes in the relationship between consultant and consultees in this inner-city school. These stages and concomitant themes reflect the interpersonal orientation of the black faculty and staff to the consultation relationship, which is contrasted to the instrumental orientation of the white teachers and staff.

The interpersonal orientation of the black staff results in an initial evaluation of the interpersonal competence of the consultant, while the instrumental orientation of the white staff results in their evaluation of the consultant's instrumental competence.

The stages of the interpersonal orientation followed a predictable sequence in the majority of interactions with black consultees, modified slightly by social class differences and rate of movement from one stage to the next:

Stage 1: Appraisal State. This is the initial stage of contact between consultant and consultee, during which the consultee "sizes up" the consultant, has minimal interactions with him/her, and behaves in an aloof, reserved, or superficially pleasant manner. The consultee does not show any overt interest or curiosity about the consultant, but observes her behavior in a rather surreptitious manner, i.e., "by keeping cool."

Stage 2: Investigation Stage. This is the second stage of contact, which is characterized by the consultee "checking out" the consultant. In this stage the

consultee makes inquiries about the consultant's personal life, background, opinions, and values. This is an attempt to place the consultant in a social status hierarchy, along an ideological spectrum, or to evaluate the consultant's previous professional experiences.

Stage 3: Involvement Stage. This stage will only follow the two previous stages if the consultee feels that the consultant has "checked out" favorably; otherwise, the consultant may find further efforts to gain cooperation and to perform his professional task will be doomed to failure or mediocrity. The consultee will make overtures to the consultant to establish a personal relationship, characterized by the exchange of personal information, personal favors, mutual obligations, and quasi-social interactions (lunch, coffee breaks, etc.). The response of the consultant to these overtures is crucial, if the consultee is to accept the consultant's expertise.

Stage 4: Commitment Stage. This stage will witness the translation of verbal support into program support, i.e., in this case the participation in the weekly group meetings. Without exception, all the black members of the group expressed their commitment to the group in terms of their personal involvement and regard for one of the two co-leaders, while the few white members of the group expressed their commitment in terms of their interest in the project and their desire for increased knowledge and effectiveness in working with children.

Stage 5: Engagement Stage. This is the stage which overlaps with the instrumental phase of the consultation process. In this stage, the consultees have made the commitment to the group as a result of their evaluation of the consultant's interpersonal competence, which they will have judged during the first four stages. If the consultant had not responded appropriately to the subtle cues and interpersonal challenges offered by the consultees, he would have been rejected for his lack of interpersonal effectiveness and he would not have been able to implement his program very effectively.

I have referred several times to the evaluation of the consultant's interpersonal competence by the consultee, but have not yet delineated what the criteria are which I believe the consultee is applying. I am proposing that the criteria by which the consultee evaluates the interpersonal competence of the consultant are closely related to the dimensions which are previously identified as major cultural patterns among blacks in terms of expressive behavior and social interactions. While these dimensions can be identified rather easily, it is more difficult to define the criteria without empirical evidence from questionnaires and rating instruments. However, I suggest that the following dimensions are used as indicators of interpersonal competence by black consultees. Each dimension is stage-related in that it is the most relevant to the consultee's evaluation of the consultant's behavior at that particular phase in the consultation process.

Dimension 1: Personal Authenticity. This dimension is most salient in the Appraisal Stage, where the consultee is evaluating the consultant for his/her perceived "genuineness" and the degree to which he/she projects the qualities of being "real", "down-to-earth" and "not uppity".

Dimension 2: Egalitarianism. This dimension is most salient in the Investigation Stage, where the consultee is judging the manner in which the consultant relates to people of similar and different educational, social and cultural backgrounds. The degree to which the consultant is able to equalize the differences between himself and the consultees in any of these areas will determine his acceptance as a democratic and non-authoritarian person. His ability to use non-technical language and to communicate his program to all levels of the consultee institution is a major factor in a positive evaluation on this dimension.

Dimension 3: Identification. This dimension is most salient in the Involvement Stage, where the consultee is evaluating the consultant's degree of identification with his ethnic background and with the socio-cultural milieu of the institution. If the consultant is balck, he may be judged on his attitude toward his ethnicity and

toward other issues relating to blacks; but, if he is white, he would probably be judged on his familiarity with black culture and his tolerance for and comprehension of certain symbolic black behaviors, attitudes, and values.

Dimension 4: Acceptance. This dimension is most salient in the Commitment Stage, where the consultee evaluates the empathic skills of the consultant, the degree to which the consultant demonstrates his comprehension of the problems of the consultee institution and recognizes the complexities of the system, as well as offering support and non-judgmental attitudes toward the consultees when they express their personal conflicts or professional frustrations.

Dimension 5: Performance. This dimension becomes most salient in the Engagement Stage, when the consultees have made their commitment to cooperate with the consultant to identify and modify or resolve the current dysfunctions in the consultee organization. This is the beginning of the evaluation of the consultant's instrumental competence as the consultees shift their dominant orientation from the interpersonal sphere to the instrumental sphere.

The model of interpersonal orientation to consultation can be graphically outlined in Table I below:

TABLE I

A MODEL OF INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATION TO CONSULTATION

Consultee Evaluation (Stages of Evaluation)	Consultant Behavior (Dimensions of Behavior)
I. Appraisal Stage ("Sizing Up")	I. Personal Authenticity ("Genuineness")
II. Investigation Stage ("Checking Out")	II. Egalitarianism (Status Equalization)
III. Involvement Stage (Social Interactions)	III. Identification (Positive Identity)
IV. Commitment (Personal Loyalty)	IV. Acceptance (Empathy; Support)
V. Engagement (Task Involvement)	V. Performance (Task Performance)

V. Implications and Consequences of the Proposed Model

This approach, in which interpersonal competence must initially be demonstrated before instrumental competence is demonstrated, has been noted in many analogous relationships of blacks. For example, clinical reports of blacks in therapeutic relationships have noted their initial period of mistrust, testing behaviors, and eventual engagement in the therapeutic process (cf. Rosen, 1962; Hammond, 1970; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Gibbs, 1975). Further, this interpersonal orientation has been exhibited by black students dealing with white educational institutions and their administrators (Mackey, 1972; Haettenschwiller, 1971); by low-income blacks in their orientation to organizational bureaucracy (cf. Moynihan, 1969; Moguloff, 1974) and their orientation to the political system (cf. Wilson, 1967); and in their orientation to religion (cf. Mitchell, 1970).

The scheme I have outlined, along with the model I have tentatively proposed, has a number of significant implications both in terms of its explanatory power and in terms of its application to a more sophisticated understanding of black communication and interaction patterns, as well as its application to the analysis of relationships between blacks and other ethnic groups. Some of these implications will be briefly discussed.

First, the concept of an interpersonal orientation among blacks in consultation situations has heuristic value in explaining the observed differences in the ways blacks and whites respond to the entry phase of consultation, the beginning phase of therapy, and the initial adjustment to educational and organizational bureaucracies. The interpersonal orientation results in attempts to personalize relationships which are usually considered impersonal in the dominant culture, i.e., to treat a universalistic situation in a particularistic way. Naturally, this creates communication problems and often leads to prematurely terminated or permanently impaired relationships because of mutual misunderstanding on the part of the black person and the other person involved.

Secondly, the conceptualization of interpersonal competence as a distinct set of skills which can be differentiated from the instrumental skills is useful in analyzing the requirements of different consultation requests. If these skills are important in order to establish communication and mutual trust in predominantly black institutions or organizations, the consultant can be in a better position to evaluate his own resources and effectiveness for such a job. Much time and energy could probably be saved if consultant and consultee were more congruent in terms of this important factor; this issue was particularly crucial during the peak of the poverty program and was probably at the root of much of the dissension between poverty agencies and their consultants. (cf. Moynihan, 1969)

Thirdly, a stage-related model of interpersonal orientation and the dimensions of interpersonal competence offer the consultant a framework in which to judge his relative progress through the entry phase into the actual task performance phase. If conflicts or problems arise at any of these stages in the entry phase, the consultant might be better able to identify the sources of the problems and deal with them before he loses ground and alienates the consultee.

Fourthly, the entire model can be useful in training professionals in the helping professions, educators, business managers, and politicians who will be better equipped to understand the perspectives of blacks who have this interpersonal orientation, and will thus be better able to deliver services to them. At the same time, educators and mental health professionals can point out the inappropriateness of the interpersonal orientation in some situations, so that students and clients can learn to be more effective in their dealings with the dominant culture.

Finally, an understanding of this interpersonal orientation-interpersonal competence model is useful for cross-cultural purposes, particularly for training programs. As Sundberg et al. (1975) have pointed out, some skills which are appropriate for some situations are inappropriate for others. It seems to me that other ethnic groups might benefit from paying more attention to the interpersonal

dimension of all human interactions., particularly in bureaucratic settings and in work-related encounters. Conversely, blacks can benefit from learning how to accept the instrumental knowledge and skills of those who are not skilled in interpersonal strategies. I agree with Baumrind (1976) that the future world will demand greater interpersonal skills, and I feel that blacks and other minority groups need to learn how to manipulate the political and economic systems and to negotiate educational bureaucracies with the optimal combination of interpersonal and instrumental competencies.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to develop a model of orientation to consultation, derived from my experiences as a clinical psychology intern in an inner-city predominantly black elementary school. The proposed model is an effort to make sense of the observed differences of black and white teachers in their approach to consultation, their attitudes toward the consultant and their use of consultation.

The model describes five stages in the consultee's approach to consultation, along with five corresponding dimensions of behavior evoked by the consultant. The author proposes that blacks, due to a combination of historical circumstances and cultural and social patterns and values, focus more on the interpersonal aspects of the consultation relationship than on the instrumental aspects. Seven "critical incidents" were described to illustrate the differences between black and white consultees in this school setting.

The implications of the proposed model were discussed in terms of its applicability to other interpersonal transactions such as the therapeutic relationship, business and professional relationships, and student-administrator relationships. Finally, the usefulness of the concept of an interpersonal orientation which is distinct from an instrumental orientation was demonstrated.

One final note: this is a very tentative model based on only one "field study" of consultation. Research designs are needed to test the validity of the

model and to test its applicability to other situations involving blacks in interpersonal transactions. In addition, the model should be investigated for its applicability to other ethnic groups, particularly those which are low-status and disadvantaged, for they also have developed unique expressive styles and behavioral strategies to survive and adapt in American society.

JG:npw

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